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Eighteenth-Century Japanese Prints

The Early Post at Moose Factory

The Church in the Jungle

ROTUNDA

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Cover: Detail from a print (date c. 1770) showing birds eating a pomegranate, by Isoda Koryusai. See article on pages 4-13.

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On a Stained Glass Panel in the Museum's Collection

In the winter issue of *Rotunda* 1968 the European Department published the identification of its small collection of stained glass. One of the panels, shown here, requires further attention.

The panel was acquired on the New York art market in 1958 and came to us without any valid information, but it was a desirable object because it was clearly a first-class example of a narrative panel from a Continental window of about 1500, when the church was still the foremost patron of the arts. One advantage of such an object is that there is always a hope of being able to trace its history, since sponsors in organized groups were accustomed to keeping records, which in many cases are preserved.

The first step was to examine the panel from the iconographic point of view. It shows a dying bishop surrounded by angels who will carry him up to heaven, the donor or donors kneeling at the foot of the bed, and a stool of about 1500 with a crest and the initials N.R. This evidence points to St. Nicholas, Bishop of Myra in Asia Minor. A search for related material led to the discovery of several similar panels: two are in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, one in the Burrell Collection in Glasgow, and one in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London. There is still another panel lost in the storage of the Metropolitan Museum. This loss is a pity, since the missing panel illustrates St. Nicholas' secret provision of a dowry for three poor maidens, the deed for which he is chiefly remembered and which gave rise to the traditions associated with St. Nicholas in Europe and with Santa Claus.

In 1929 Kurt Steinbart had published the Victoria & Albert panel, but by 1968 no research had yet been done on any of the others. On the strength of a small roundel in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, Steinbart suggested, in the *Marburg Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol 5, p. 234, fig. 42, that the design for the "Birth of St. Nicholas" window was made by Jacob Cornelisz. Toronto opinion was content to call the ROM panel a workshop product.

An attempt was made to discover what church the windows had been made for, and one possibility seemed to be to trace a sponsor whose initials were N.R. This, of course, led to investigation of the crest with three leaves on the stool in the Toronto panel. Application was made to the Archives of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, which furnished the name of Rozier or Röser, a family who had sold their tithes to Geoffrey of Sassenheim. This identification was suggested by the fact that a church near the city of Luxembourg, long ago donated by the Röser family, had been demolished in the late 19th century, and its furnishings dispersed.

This rather vague and speculative suggestion has now been rectified by P.V. Maes of the Stedelijk Museum in Leuven (Louvain), to whom we are greatly indebted. He has traced the crest to Nicolas Ruterius, Bishop of Arras, who donated the window to the Chartreuse de Louvain in Belgium. His research is fully documented in the *Arca Lovaniensis* 1973, giving full credit to the Toronto research and listing the Ruterius family. Maes states that Jan van Diependale was the glass worker and that he set the window between 1509 and 1535. This accomplishment of P.V. Maes is an outstanding one for Belgian art history, but it is also very enriching for the archives of the Royal Ontario Museum as the holder of one of the six existing panels.

H. Hickl-Szabo, *European Department*

H R

D.B. Waterhouse

The late Sir Edmund Walker (1848–1924) was not only one of Ontario's most distinguished sons, he was also an enlightened patron of the arts; and, in his later years, the art to which he devoted much of his attention as a collector was the Japanese woodcut print. This spring the Royal Ontario Museum paid tribute to the man who was its first Chairman with an exhibition of fine Japanese prints from his collection, which passed to the Museum after his death.

C.T. Currelly wrote that the collection was "made with the full idea of its being for the people of Ontario"; and Walker also brought to the subject his scientific interest in evolution, which led him in art study to seek out deliberately the earlier, formative periods in the history of a style. These two guiding principles resulted in an unusual and varied collection which, though not large (some 1,100 prints), can stand comparison with others that are much bigger.

In point of fact, the Walker collection does not illustrate particularly well the formation of the *ukiyoe* style—the art of the "Floating World", as it is called. The seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century prints in which this style was first worked out in woodcut are not represented at all. We should not blame Walker for this, since at the time when he was collecting these periods were little known, and the prints were hard to obtain. We should rather give him credit for concentrating on the eighteenth century (particularly the middle and later parts) at a time when to most people Japanese prints meant only Hokusai and Hiroshige. The beautiful landscape prints of these artists are also represented in the Walker collection; but on the whole its greatest strength is in the figure prints of the eighteenth century

Japanese Prints from a Canadian Collection:

Eighteenth-Century Ukiyoe and Sir Edmund Walker

1. (opposite page). Torii Kiyomitsu (1735-85): The actor Ichikawa Danjūrō IV as Hōjō Tokimasa, in a play datable to 1761. 2-colour woodcut.

2. (above). Okumura Masanobu (d. 1764(?) aged 79): The main street (Naka-no-chō) of the Yoshiwara, seen through the Great Gateway (Ōmon-guchi). Hand-coloured woodcut.

3. (above). Torii Kiyonaga (1752-1815): Two geisha *entertainers entering the Shiki-an, or "Four Seasons" Restaurant, at Nakasu, one of the unlicensed pleasure quarters. Datable to 1788 or '89.*

4. (opposite page). Isoda Koryūsai (fl. later 1760s—earlier 1780s): The Tango Festival, from a series Furyu juni kiko, *"The Twelve Months, fashionably depicted". Later 1770s.*

(especially Harunobu and Utamaro); and these provided our exhibition with its theme.

The Edo figure prints bring to life a bygone age—the social and intimate amusements and the everyday affairs of the townsman of old Tokyo. Japan in the eighteenth century was virtually isolated from the world outside; but its administrative capital, Edo, probably had a larger population than London, and so much was going on there that nobody had reason to be bored. The government was a haughty and repressive military dictatorship; and in theory everybody belonged to one of four classes—the *samurai*, or military gentleman, being at the top of the heap. All others—farmers, artisans, and merchants (in that order)—had to treat him with great respect; and women, of whatever class, were especially respectful, since this was a rough, man's world, and centuries of civil war had deprived women of most *de jure* powers.

In practice, things were a little different. The *samurai* received a government stipend, whose amount varied with their rank, and which was paid to them in rice, the old medium of exchange. The seventeenth century, however, saw an increasing use of metal money and other forms of credit, and the rice exchange rate was extremely unstable. Clever merchants learnt to hoard rice when the price was low, and the *samurai*, who were expected to maintain an expensive life-style, often found themselves in debt. The government attempted to deal with inflation and other economic difficulties by alternately imposing austerity measures and then relaxing them; but neither policy seemed to work very well. If we substitute oil for rice, Washington for Edo, we can perhaps understand the situation.

Cadillacs and *samurai* swords, however, are important symbols of power and masculinity, and are not lightly discarded; so the established order was gradually undermined economically, and there was more social mobility than one might have expected. *Rōnin—samurai* who no longer served any lord—made their way as best they could; and rich merchants could mingle almost as equals with the high and mighty in the tea-ceremony cult. But it is above all in the bustle of city life and in the world of entertainment that class barriers are most easily set aside; and taste for the Kabuki theatre and the Yoshiwara pleasure district was not confined to the lower classes of Edo. The *samurai* had their "official" theatre, the classical Nō drama; but, half in secret, they could go to the more popular and lively Kabuki. In fact, there was a scandal in 1714

風流十二氣候
端午
湖龍画

5. *(left). Kitagawa Utamaro (1753-1806): Making paper cut-outs, from a series* Fujin tewaza jūnikō, *"Twelve Practical Skills of Married Women". Late 1790s.*

6. *(below). Okumura Masanobu: "The Village of Falling Flowers": illustration to Ch. 11 of the* Tale of Genji. *Hand-coloured. c. 1730.*

7. *(opposite page). Suzuki Harunobu (1725-70): Kumagae and Atsumori on the beach near Ichi-no-tani, just before Kumagae cuts off Atsumori's head. 1767-69.*

that involved a court lady and the Kabuki actor Ichikawa Danjūrō II, and resulted in permanent closure of one of the Edo theatres. This is alluded to in the poem on a Walker print of 1761 (Pl. 1), which indicates that people had not forgotten! *Samurai* also visited the Yoshiwara incognito, there to enjoy the pleasures of the demimonde; and another Walker print, by Okumura Masanobu (Pl. 2), shows the large straw hats with which they covered their faces from public view. At the entrance to the Yoshiwara *samurai* were required to deposit their swords—a practical precaution against rowdyism, but one which may also be seen as a symbolic gesture, bringing the *samurai* down to the level of ordinary folk. *Samurai* were also, it may be noted, the chief authors of late eighteenth-century pornographic fiction.

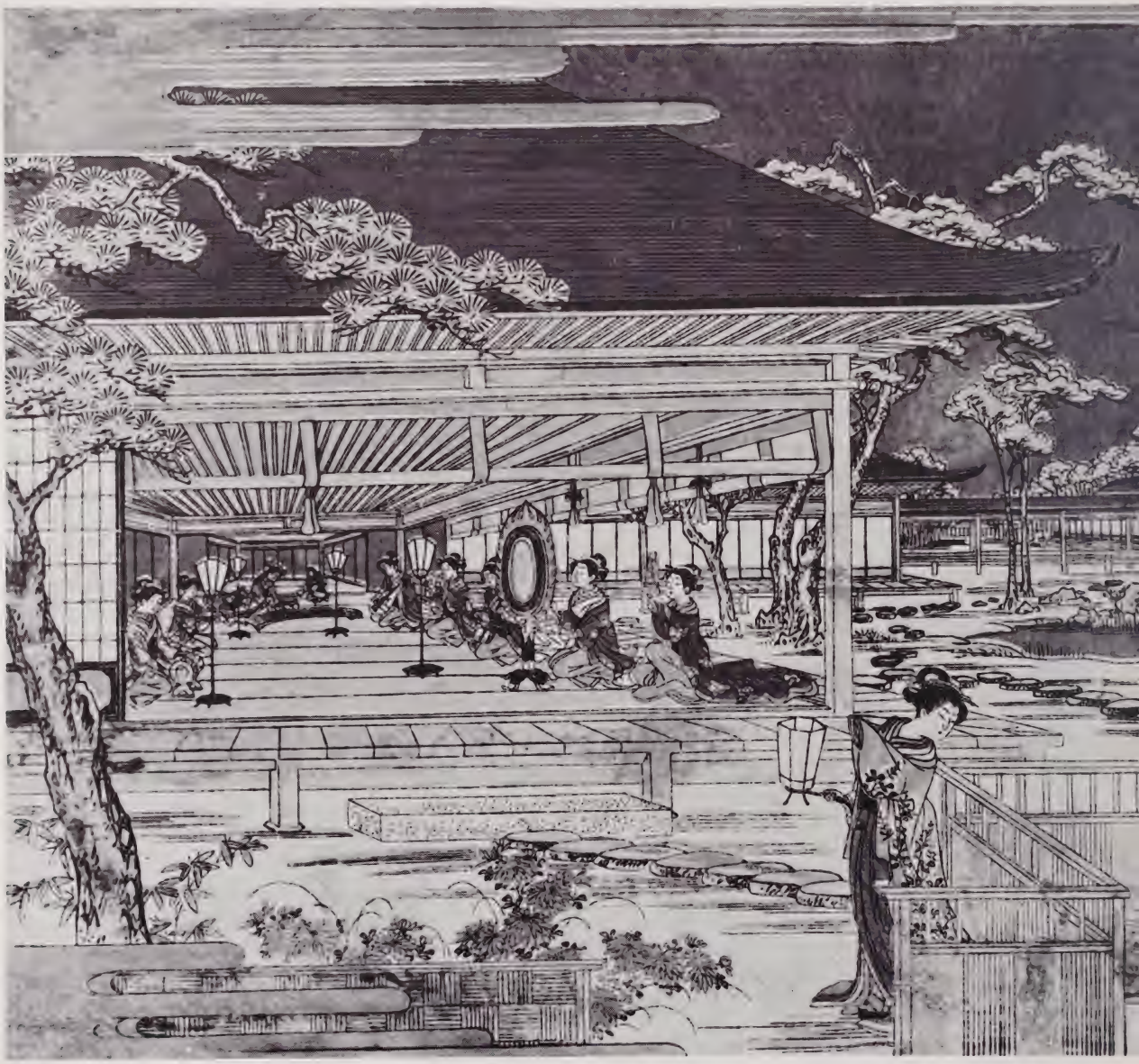
It is the actors of the Kabuki theatre and the denizens of the Yoshiwara whom we see above all in the Edo figure prints; and the carefree world in which they seem to dwell should be seen not only as the necessary counter-balance to a Kafkaesque political structure, but as having a vitality or momentum of its own. From the prints and from miscellaneous records of the period, it is possible to reconstruct many details of the world of entertainment: to study the way in which Kabuki plays came to the stage, were altered over the years, survived into modern Kabuki, or disappeared; the careers of Kabuki actors, their

鈴木春信画

physical features and mannerisms, their favourite rôles, their frequent changes of name; and the organization and mode of life of courtesans, both in the Yoshiwara and outside it (for there were many free-lances: cf. Pl. 3).

In addition, these eighteenth-century prints often show us festivals and customs which were part of everybody's life—New Year, the Tango Festival in the fifth month (Pl. 4), making paper cut-outs (Pl. 5), etc.; many of them make literary or historical allusions, to the *Tale of Genji* (Pl. 6), to the *Tale of the Heike* (Pl. 7), or to the *Tale of Lady Jōruri* (Pl. 8); sometimes we see traditional "flower-and-bird" subjects (Pl. 9); and there are many other possibilities, so that in going through an unfamiliar collection one is never sure what will turn up next.

In piecing together these fascinating and never-ending details we also find ourselves studying some of the underlying intellectual and aesthetic ideals of Edo urban society. Despite its self-imposed isolation, Japan was in touch with many ideas and techniques from Europe, which made their way in through the Dutch trading post at Nagasaki. One example is the use of Western perspective, intro-



8. Utagawa Toyoharu (1735-1814): On-Zōshi serenading Lady Jōruri on his flute. Early 1770s.

duced into *ukiyoe* by Okumura Masanobu about 1730 (cf. Pls. 2, 8); and in the last quarter of the eighteenth century the "Dutch learning" (*rangaku*) movement was at its height and was one of the factors behind the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Traditional Japanese culture, however, leaned heavily on that of China; and this too can be illustrated by many prints from the Walker collection,

both those which allude directly to China (Pl. 10) and those which remind us indirectly of it. For example, the many eighteenth-century prints of children (Pl. 11) can be seen against the background of an educational system that was dominated by the teachings of Confucius. Another influence on thought was the *kokugaku* "national learning" movement, which probably had something to do with the publication of many illustrated editions of Japanese classics during the seventeenth century—works that in turn supplied *ukiyoe* artists with some of their material.

Although the intellectual history of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Japan is slowly coming to be studied by a few scholars in Japan and elsewhere, there is still no reliable guide to its expressed or unexpressed aesthetic ideals. In the exhibition and in the catalogue of the Walker prints a division has been made at 1765, when full-colour printing at last became commercially feasible. The earlier prints were either hand-coloured or, from about 1744, had usually two or three colour blocks only, in addition to a black key block. These developments are commonly accounted for in terms of technical sophistication, patronage, and perhaps also the relaxation of sumptuary laws which took place under the government adviser Tanuma Okitsugu during the 1760s; but other factors were undoubtedly at work.

In particular, the polychrome prints of Suzuki Harunobu, which appeared in profusion from 1765 until his sudden death in 1770, are the embodiment of an elusive quality known as *sui*. This was the popular aesthetic ideal of the 1760s. A *Shinnai*-type ballad that commemorates a love suicide of 1769 refers to it as follows:

"I do not know why they say a courtesan cannot be faithful to her love: so long as a copious stream of *sui* flows from the mouth of even a country bumpkin, the bonds of love will fit closely; so long as it is only the tender idiocies of love which he voices—so long will he be attractive to her!"

If you look up *sui* in the dictionary, you find that it means "elegance, fashion, refined taste, gracefulness"—all at once, not alternatively. In the passage quoted above it is a masculine attribute, what endears a man to his girl friend, so that she forgives him his clumsiness.

But *sui* is also a feminine quality, what makes women attractive to men. Another contemporary theory was that *sui* was to be contrasted with *gachi*: written with a different Chinese character, *sui* means "water", and one way of writing *gachi* makes it mean "moon". So the courtesan was compared to water, or *sui*, and her client to the moon—whose glories are reflected in the water, and whose nature contrasts with it. One word for a country bumpkin in Japanese is *yamadashi*, "one newly come out of the mountains"; so an inexperienced client in the Yoshiwara could be described as *yamadashi no tsuki*, "the moon coming out of the mountains".

Sui can thus be applied to either sex. Another eighteenth-century work defines it simply as "a person who knows his way around the Pleasure Quarters". In that sense, however, it seems to be merging into the later concept of *tsū*, whose vogue seems to belong to the 1770s, the decade after Harunobu's death. *Tsū* is equally hard to define, but connotes worldly knowledge of all kinds—of one's fellow men, of manners and customs (especially those of the Yoshiwara), of all the latest fashions. In fact, the true possessor of *tsū* himself dictated the newest styles.

One writer of the period defines the difference between *sui* and *tsū* in regional terms: "What in Edo they call *tsū* is called *sui* in Ōsaka". Since the idea of *sui* originally came from Ōsaka, this may simply mean that trend-setting Edo had moved on to *tsū*, while

the more conservative Ōsaka maintained its allegiance to *sui*. As if to compound the difficulty, Hiraga Gennai (an eighteenth-century intellectual known for his interests in both painting and *rangaku*) remarked: "There is a saying which was popular in the past and is to this day, that 'rotten bean paste (*miso*) is simply bad, even though it is bean paste; and rotten *sui* cannot be called *sui*, even though it be *sui*'." The point of this cryptic statement seems to be that yesterday's *sui* is as good as no *sui* at all—again, a notion which overlaps with that of *tsū*. It should also be noted that in modern usage *sui* and *tsū* are not usually paired or contrasted at all.

In the history of Japanese aesthetics, there are other such elusive and perhaps indefinable ideals. *Mono no aware, imayō, wabi, sabi, yūgen*: all these terms, familiar to most students of Japanese culture, have a precise historical connotation, but an imprecise denotation. Their meaning is best grasped ostensively, by an effort of the imagination; and it is above all through the contemplation of works of art, literature, music, and drama that one is able to do this. This exhibition of prints from the Walker collection could therefore be viewed as a summation of certain aesthetic ideals in eighteenth-century Japanese culture.

In that it was selected from a Canadian collection formed during the first two decades of this century, it was also a page from the history of Western taste. The first period of Japanese print collecting, which we associate above all with the Goncourt brothers, S. Bing, and Hayashi Tadamasa in Paris of the later nineteenth century, culminated in a series of exhibitions at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs from 1909 onwards. By then the initiative had already passed to England and North America, and especially to circles of collectors in London, Chicago, Boston, and New York. Sir Edmund Walker's correspondence shows that he was in touch with these collectors, though because of his business and many other cultural interests he was seldom able to meet them and must often have relied on his own taste and judgment.

Edmond de Goncourt had advised collectors to allow their collections to be dispersed after death; so most of the great French collections are now hard to piece together. Several of the later collections, however, Walker's among them, have remained intact, and it is instructive to consider them as wholes. Sale catalogues tell one up to a point what was available at a particular

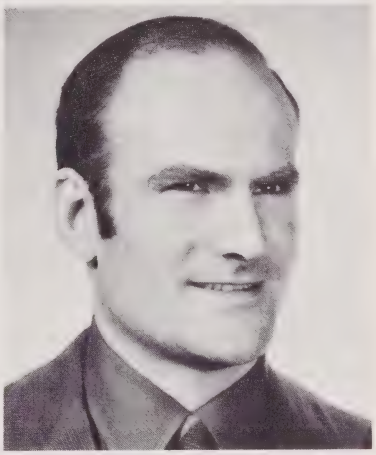
9. *(opposite page, left). Kitao Masayoshi (b. 1761 or '64): Painted-eyebrow bird, from an album of bird-and-flower designs. After 1789.*

10. *(opposite page, right). Ishikawa Toyonobu (1711-85): Kuan Yü, the Chinese God of War, reading a love-letter with a courtesan. Later 1730s.*

11. *(below). Kitao Shigemasa (d. 1819 or '20, aged 81 or more): Boys practising calligraphy, from a series* Kodomo asobi shinó, *"Children playing at the Four Accomplishments".*

time, but actual collections tell one what was preferred; and these preferences throw light both on period taste and on the personality of the collector. Sir Edmund Walker not only chose the earlier artists on principle; he also seems to have liked literary subjects—for example, the *Tale of Genji* or the legend of Ono no Komachi—and some other subjects which are distinctly out of the ordinary. Connoisseurs of *ukiyoe* can recognize that a strong individual taste was at work—an impression confirmed by the biography published by G.P. de T. Glazebrook in 1933.

In fact, this exhibition, and others last year at the University of Toronto Library and the Art Gallery of Ontario, not only recalled the memory of a great man, but showed how exceptional he was in the Toronto and Canada of his day. Rupert Brooke, visiting Toronto in 1913, wrote, "Here are gathered what faint, faint beginnings or premonitions of such things as Art Canada can boast. . ." I do not know if he actually met Sir Edmund Walker, or what he would have thought of him; but Canadians should recognize that they owe to such cultural pioneers as Walker as much as to the men who built their railways, or who prospect today for oil.



David Waterhouse is an Associate Professor in the Department of East Asian Studies, University of Toronto, and an Honorary Research Associate of the Far Eastern Department of the ROM. *He held posts at the British Museum and at the University of Washington before coming to Toronto in 1966. His teaching and research embrace various aspects of East Asian art and music. He is the author of* Harunobu and His Age: the Development of Colour Printing in Japan *(1964);* Tawaraya Sotatsu and the Deer Scroll *(1966); and articles on Japanese art and music. Professor Waterhouse's wife is the internationally-known woodcut artist Naoko Matsubara.*

The Early Post at Moose Factory

W. A. Kenyon

The Hudson's Bay Company post on the Moose River was originally built as an offshoot or outpost of the company's earlier establishment at the mouth of the Rupert River. Charles Fort, as the earlier post was called, had been built by Capt. Zachariah Gillam and Médard Chouart des Groseilliers when they arrived there in 1668 to spend the winter trading with the Indians.

When they returned to England the next summer, their tiny ship, the *Nonsuch*, was carrying such a valuable cargo of furs that arrangements were started immediately to send out a second outfit. This 1670 outfit consisted of two vessels, the *Prince Rupert* and the *Wivenhoe*. Des Groseilliers again sailed with Gillam, this time in the *Prince Rupert*; the *Wivenhoe*, under Capt. Robert Newland, carried Charles Bayly, the first governor of the "bottom of the Bay", as he was called, and Pierre-Espret Radisson, the old fur-trading partner of des Groseilliers.

At Charles Fort, they found their old house standing just as they had left it, and immediately set about building another. At the same time—being practical men—they also looked to the safety of the ship's beer. Heaving the barrels up from the hold, they rolled them ashore and buried them to make sure that the contents would not be damaged by freezing. The problem here was to make certain that they had sufficient beer to get them safely back to England. For should their beer be frozen, it would lose its "virtue", and the men would be reduced to the extremity of drinking water during the homeward voyage.

Moose Factory, as it probably looked c. 1680. From a water-colour by Sylvia Hahn.

Quotations from the HBC Archives are made by permission of the Hudson's Bay Record Society.

Life at the fort was not without its amenities. They had two identical houses, each built of upright posts and a thatched roof. Each house had a cellar where they brewed the "small" beer that was their normal beverage when they were ashore, and stored their pork, beef, and butter. They lived on the ground floor, cooking, eating, and sleeping in what was probably a single room. The upper floor held their dry provisions such as bread, flour, peas, and oatmeal. The governor's secretary, Thomas Gorst, tells us that they had also built an oven, and could therefore feast themselves at pleasure with "venson pasty". On Christmas Day they toasted their friends in England with brandy and strong beer and served partridges and venison in addition to their usual ship's provisions.

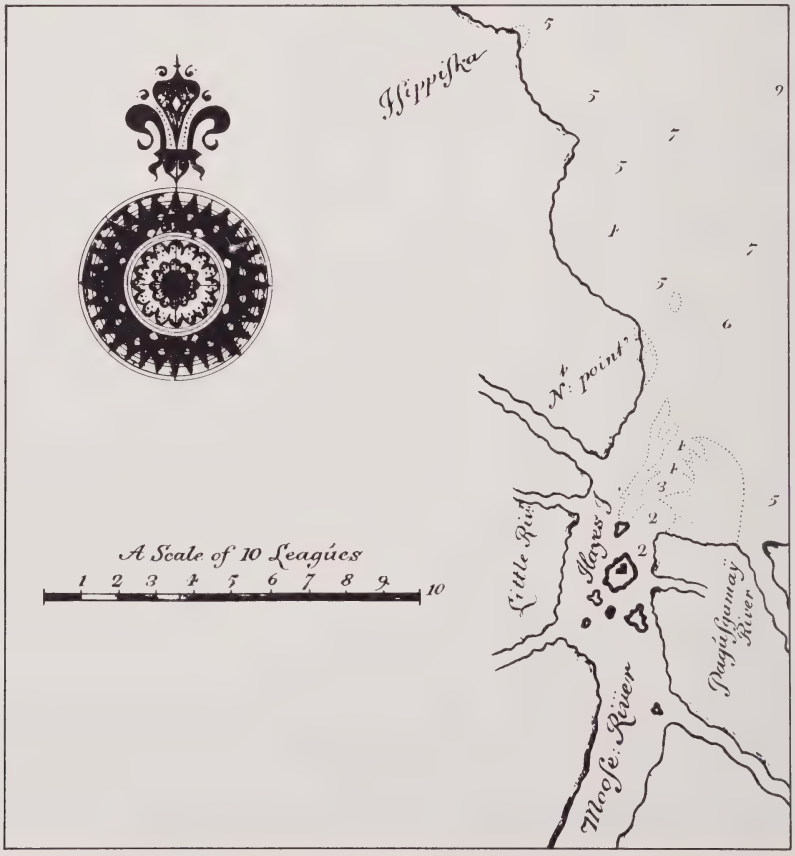
After the holidays Capt. Gillam suffered what was apparently a mild attack of scurvy, but quickly recovered. Then, on January 29, 1671, Radisson paid a visit to the mouth of the Moose River. This, so far as we know, was the first time that a servant of the Honourable Company had visited the Moose. Radisson described it as a broad river, about 18 leagues away, whose banks were covered with a fine stand of spruce and pine that would be suitable for masts. Some of them, he tells us, were almost five feet in circumference. Radisson must have been impressed with what he learned during his visit, for he and Bayly returned to Moose River in the spring, where they traded a goodly quantity of beaver.

Back at Charles Fort, with their rich cargo of furs packed safely aboard the *Wivenhoe*, they had every reason to be pleased with themselves. They were pleased, too, with a country that held such great promise for future profits. In the spring they noted that "warm weather comes on apace". By the end of March they had planted a small garden, and before they left the bay they had the satisfaction of seeing their peas and mustard coming along nicely. They noted, too, that their pigs and chickens had survived the northern winter. Then, about the middle of May they recorded, on the debit side, that "the weather begins to grow hot & ye mosquitoes to be very busy".

Back in London, Bayly was asked to prepare an inventory of the stores and provisions remaining aboard the company ships, and to draw up a list of trade-goods that should be provided for the next expedition to the bay. Bayly's inventory has apparently not survived; however, we do have his suggestions as to what should be added to the stock they already held. This included 200 fowling pieces, together with powder and shot, 200 brass kettles

Right: Part of John Thornton's map, published 1685.

Opposite page: Part of Samuel Hearne's map, 1774. Moose Fort is indicated by the arrow inserted. By Hearne's scale bar, 1 inch represents approximately 5 miles on this reproduction.



ranging in size from two to sixteen gallons, 12 gross of french knives, and between 800 and 1000 hatchets. Bayly also suggested that the settlement in the bay should be moved to Moose River. He was impressed, obviously, with the amount of fur that he had traded there and was naturally anxious to expand that trade. After all, the beaver that the *Wivenhoe* brought back was selling in England for 7 or 8 shillings per pound in 1672.

The quantities involved are suggested in the minutes of a meeting held at the home of Sir Robert Vyner on Lombard St., London, on October 24, 1671. It was decided at the meeting that 3,000 lb. of beaver would be auctioned in December, and a further 3,000 lb. in March. Even at the lesser figure of 7s. per lb., the sales would gross over £1,000 each.

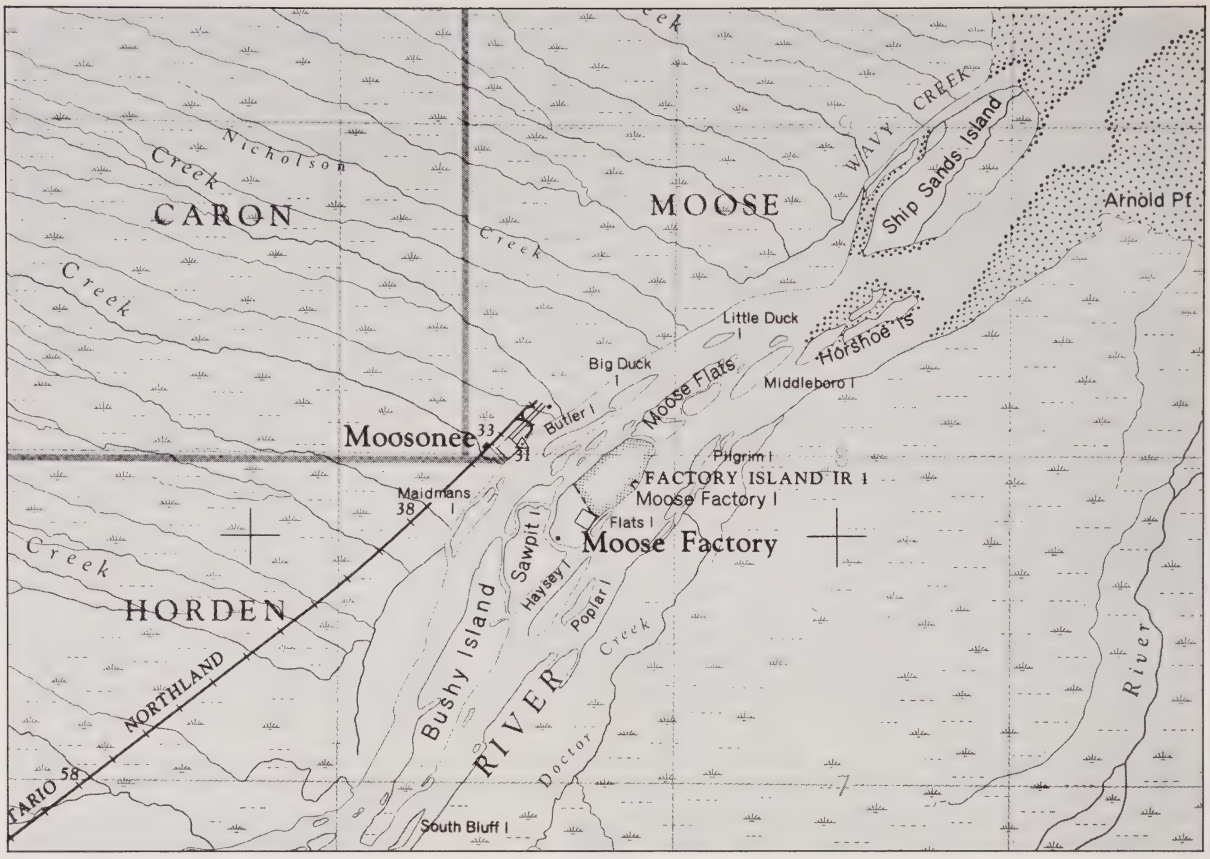
It is no surprise, therefore, to learn that the company decided as early as February 1, 1672, to move their headquarters in the bay from Rupert River to Moose River. At the same meeting they agreed that a fort should be built at the new location, and that the necessary bricks and nails should be shipped out in the *Wivenhoe*.

For some reason, the *Wivenhoe* failed to join the 1672 outfit, which consisted of three vessels—the *Prince Rupert*, the *Messenger*, and the *Imploy*. The latter was a small vessel of some 25 tons that the company purchased for £130 from Samuell Timberlake and left in the bay for coastal service. The entire party apparently spent the winter at Rupert, and it was not till the following summer that a post was actually built on the Moose River. Then, "a small house for occasional occupation was built at Factory Island, about a mile from its westerly end. . . . " Charles Bayly spent the winter of 1674–75 at the Moose River post, and in the next few years it completely eclipsed Rupert as the bayside centre of both trade and administration.

By May 29, 1680, the committee in London stated: "Wee judge it fit to keep our grand Factory where it now is upon Hayes Island in Moose River . . . " They did not want the establishment at Rupert to be completely abandoned, however, for they also said, "Wee judge it necessary that you always keep up that old Factory, It being a kind of an Outwork to prevent any inroad of the French upon that part of the East Main."

But where, precisely, was the post on the Moose River, and what did it look like? In the company records of the period, the island where the post was located is referred to both as "Hayes Island" and "Factory Island". But which island was it? For on the modern map, there is both a Hayes and a Factory Island. Two old maps of the river-mouth offer some clues which, in my opinion, provide fairly conclusive proof that the modern Factory Island was originally called Hayes Island.

The first is that of John Thornton which was published in 1685; the second is that of Samuel Hearne, which he drew in 1774. Using either of these maps, or a modern map, you could locate Moose Factory by following the south channel upstream from James Bay to the south side of the big island opposite the mouth of



Moose Factory, as shown on a modern topographic map. Scale: 1 inch = approx. 3.7 miles.

Doctor Creek. On Thornton's map it is called Hayes Island, while on Hearne's map it is unnamed, with only the factory itself being identified. On the modern map, of course, it is Moose Factory Island.

There is an additional clue in the works of Samuel Hearne. If we examine the maps which he drew of the mouths of the Albany, the Moose, and the Slude or Eastmain Rivers, we note that the locations of earlier posts are faithfully recorded both at Albany and Eastmain. But the location of any earlier post is significantly absent from his map of the Moose River. In all probability, Hearne failed to record such a site at the mouth of the Moose because there was none. That is, the early post was also on Moose Factory Island, and in the same general area as the present post. I suspect, further, that after Hayes Island became known as Factory Island, the name Hayes was moved over to a neighbouring island. After all, Sir James Hayes was one of the charter members of the Hudson's Bay Company, and it would be a rash fur-trader indeed who would delete his name from the maps of his own bay.

The appearance of the post is a different matter. Here we are on firmer ground, but only a bit firmer, for virtually all of the details escape us prior to about 1679. The earliest description of the fort on Moose Factory Island is contained in the journal of de Troyes, who led a contingent of 100 men overland from Canada to the bay in 1686, and captured all three of the Hudson's Bay Company posts on the bay—Moose Factory, Rupert House, and Fort Albany.

According to de Troyes, Moose Fort was

"constructed of thick palisades which, coming out of the earth to a height of seventeen or eighteen feet, form four curtains of which each face is a hundred and thirty feet long. The curtains are flanked by as many bastions whose plain earth is held together by two rows of thick stakes tied together occasionally with planks. The planks which cross from one row of stakes to the other firm up the earth which they enclose, thus making the bastions more difficult to batter down."

Inside the fort, de Troyes tells us, there was one large building, "and a redoubt in the middle composed of three storeys, and built of horizontal logs."

Some further information is contained in la Potherie's *History of North America*, Paris, 1753. We

Blacksmith's Tools from Moose Factory

Left to right: Marlin spike, 3 cold chisels, caulking iron
Below: Iron hoe

Though all attempts to locate the early post at Moose Factory have so far been unavailing, a ROM expedition which I took to James Bay in the spring of 1973 did succeed in discovering some of the tools that helped to build it. The discovery was made, not at Moose Factory, but on Charlton Island, some 60 miles to the north-east, the trans-shipment point where the furs gathered from Moose Factory and the Company's other posts were loaded onto the annual supply ship from England.

In 1681 the ship—the *Diligence*—was late in arriving at Charlton Island. Then, as it was entering the harbour, it struck a shoal and lost its rudder. Because of the delays, Governor Nixon, who had brought the furs to Charlton Island, had to make arrangements for the *Diligence* and its crew to winter on the island. By the time he had done this, he himself was trapped on the island for the winter.

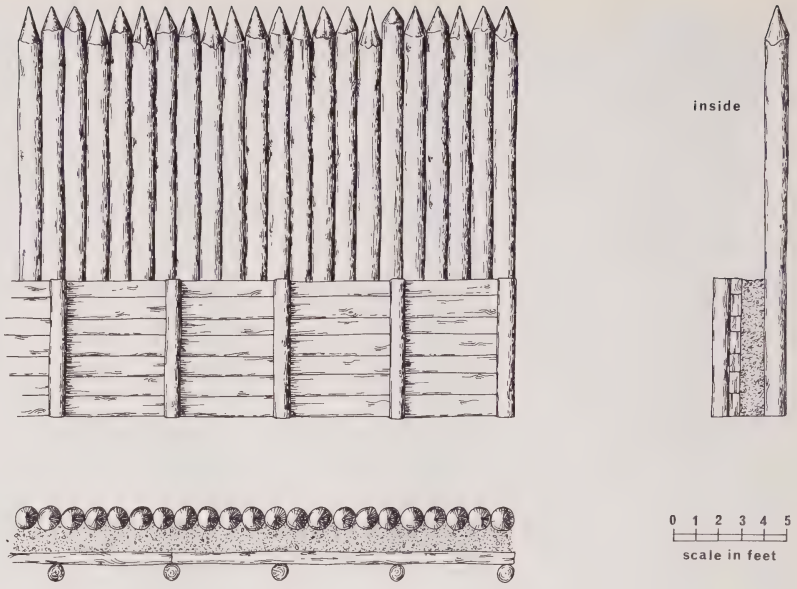
Repair work on the *Diligence* was carried out in the spring of 1682. For this purpose Nixon sent to Moose Factory Island for a blacksmith, and on June 30 Mr. Thomas Kildale, "Armourar & Smyth", arrived with his box of tools. The *Diligence* was repaired and duly sailed for home, and Kildale himself returned to England a short time later. We know no more about him except that a note in the minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company records, on November 9, 1683, that "Tho. Killdale Gunsmith" was to be reimbursed for the tools that he left in the bay.

It was while excavating Nixon's old warehouse on Charlton Island that we stumbled upon the remains of the blacksmith shop where Kildale had fashioned the new rudder for the *Diligence*. Here we found his tool box and a number of the tools he brought with him from Moose Factory.

W.A.K.

Details of flanker construction at Moose Fort, showing the earthen wall between the inner plank wall and the outer wall of upright logs.

Opposite page: Plan of Moose Factory (Fort), 1686
A. Bastions or flankers
B. Redoubt
C. Buildings
D. Curtain walls
E. Main gate
F. Sallyport



learn there that Moose Fort was "in the form of a square, thirty paces from the bank of a river, on a little height, surrounded by a stockade seventeen or eighteen feet in height and flanked by four bastions, lined within by stout planks, with an earth terrace about a foot thick". La Potherie fails to mention the large building that de Troyes says was inside the fort, but he more than compensates for that bit of negligence by telling us that the redoubt was 30 feet long, 28 feet wide, and 30 feet high. And both de Troyes and la Potherie agree that the redoubt had a flat roof surrounded by a parapet with four embrasures on each side.

One of de Troyes' officers, Pierre Allemand, left us a map of the bay on which he drew small sketches of the ground plans of the Moose, Rupert, and Albany establishments. The sketch of the fort at Moose agrees quite well with the written descriptions, except for the fact that Allemand's sketch has two rectangular buildings between the redoubt and the palisades. In the accompanying plan of the fort I have followed Allemand and have drawn in both of the buildings; except that it appeals to my sense of order and symmetry, I have no particular reason for following Allemand rather than de Troyes or la Potherie.

The flankers (bastions) are obviously a problem. For their overall dimensions, I have been guided by the relative size of the ones on Allemand's map, and by the size of the ones which were excavated at the Albany post. These, incidentally, agree quite well. Details of flanker construction, however, are a different matter; we know only that the outer walls were built of logs set upright in the ground, and that they were "firmed up" with an earthen wall. La Potherie tells us that this earthen wall was one foot thick, and that it was "lined within by stout planks". I have drawn the flankers therefore, with the earthen wall against the inside of the flanker wall, and extending upward to a height of five or six feet. On the inside the earth is retained by a plank wall that is supported in turn by heavy posts set into the ground every three or four feet.

The dimensions of the two buildings between the curtain-walls and the redoubt were arrived at by using the redoubt on Allemand's map as a scale. One of these buildings, de Troyes tells us, was a storehouse and kitchen, but we have no clues as to the purpose of the other. He tells us also that there was a forge outside the fort, that the main entrance to the fort was in the middle of the curtain which faced the river, and that the gate itself was six inches thick and reinforced by "nails, thick strap-hinges & iron bars". There was also a small door—a sally port—in the rear curtain.

When de Troyes attacked Moose Fort on June 21, 1686, the place was literally bristling with cannon, although most of them were probably not loaded. Each of the front flankers was armed with three cannon, while the rear flankers were each provided with two. These were 6- or 7-pounders, presumably of cast iron. On the roof of the redoubt were three 2-pounders that were also of cast iron, apparently, and one brass 8-pounder.

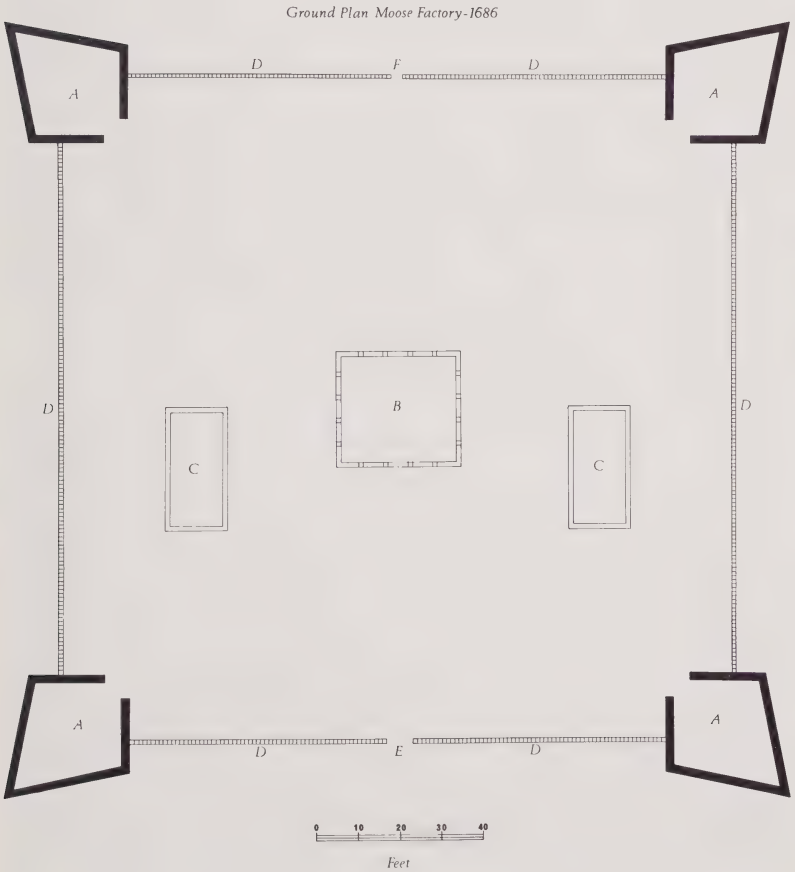
Daylight comes early in those high northern latitudes, and when de Troyes appeared at the main gate of the fort, the seventeen Englishmen were still in their night-shirts. Half an hour later they had surrendered. The battle was over.

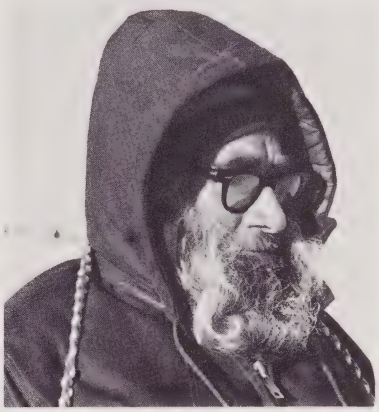
The fort that de Troyes

captured at Moose Factory in 1686 was not the same structure that had been built there 13 years earlier. The original structure was a small house that was probably surrounded by a simple palisade, as were the original establishments at Rupert and Albany. To transform the "house" on Moose River into a proper fort required nothing more than the addition of bastions or flankers to the palisade. This was probably not done before 1679, because in that year the company sent its new governor, Mr. John Nixon, directly to the old post at Rupert. After depositing the new governor at Rupert, Capt. Nehemiah Walker returned to England that same summer with his ship, the *John and Alexander*, and carried with him the retiring governor, Charles Bayly. It would appear, therefore, that the residence of the governor and the administrative headquarters in the bottom of the bay were still at Rupert.

We know that the decision to move had been made earlier; the enlargement or rebuilding of the establishment on the Moose River was probably not undertaken, however, till the necessary men and materials became available with the arrival of the *Prince Rupert* and the *Shaftsbury* in 1678. Our next clue is provided by the report that Governor Nixon sent home in 1682. Writing to the committee in London, Nixon said: "I have sent yow a ruff draft of the fort at Chechechewan [i.e., Albany] which may serve for the fort at Muce river also". Unfortunately this plan has not survived. But we have archaeological evidence which shows that Fort Albany, at that time, was a simple rectangular structure surrounded by a palisade and flanked by four bastions. In fact, if we removed the two buildings that stand between the redoubt and the curtain walls on the plan of Moose Fort that we have reproduced here, it would be almost identical with Fort Albany of the same period. So far as we know, only the proportions would be different.

Such, then, were the beginnings of the settlement on Moose Factory Island. We would like to know more about it, naturally, and with further research we probably will. But that is another story. For as Governor Nixon said to the committee in the summer of 1682, "I am wearie to wryt such long letters and I feare yow will be wearie to read them."





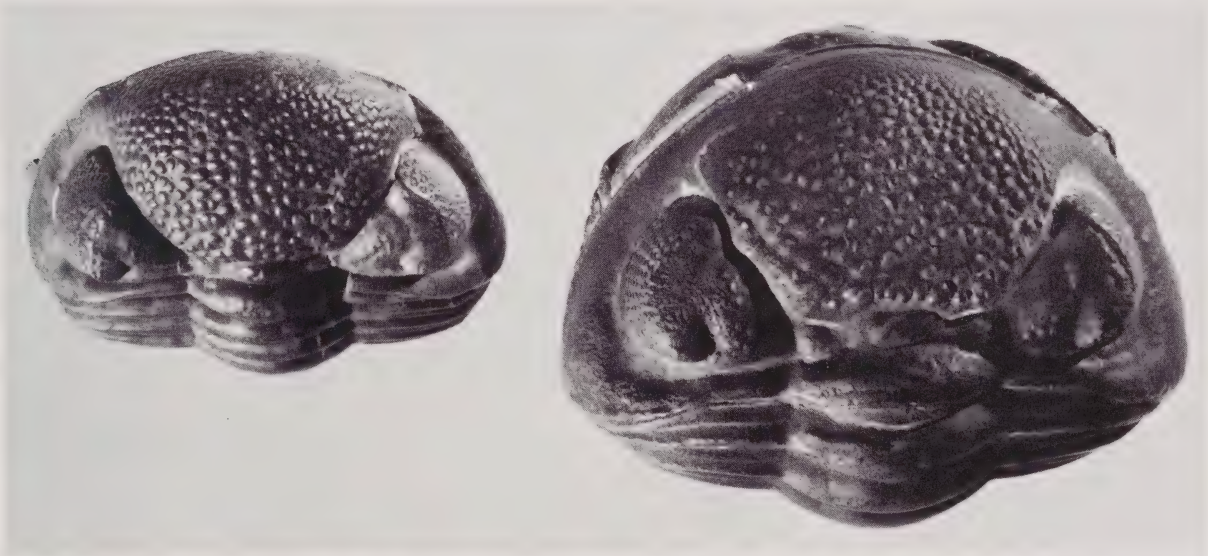
W.A. Kenyon was born in Ontario and raised in California. He holds an honours degree in anthropology from the University of British Columbia, and M.A. *and* PH.D. *degrees from the University of Toronto. In 1956 he joined the staff of the* ROM *and is now Curator in the Office of the Chief Archaeologist. Although his research has taken him to the West Indies and Central Amerıaca, most of his work has been devoted to the pre-history and early history of Ontario. He is at present engaged in studying the development of Arctic exploration.*

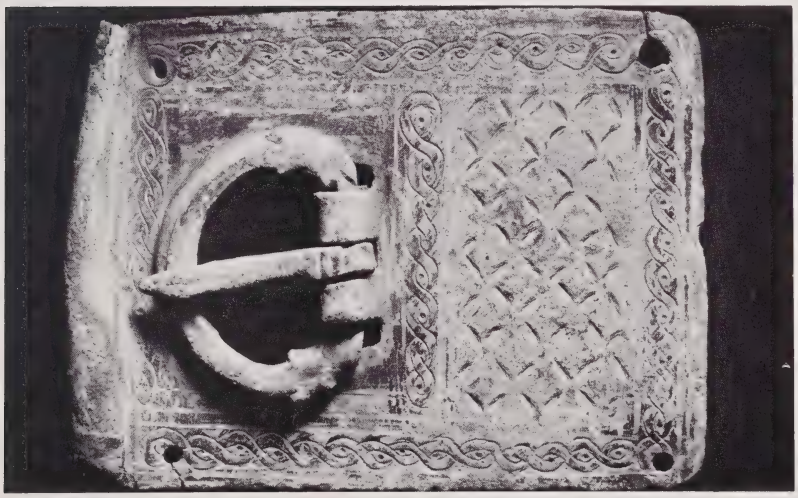
The Growing Collections

The West Asian Department has been the fortunate recipient of several important objects in metalwork and ceramics from the collection of Mr. F.B. Minarovich. The small tinned copper bowl is engraved with an Arabic proverb and is about 600 years old. The gift also includes two buckles, one of bronze, shown here, which probably came from a saddle girth, and another cast with a remarkable image of a lion attacking a deer (?). Both date from the Seljuq period in Anatolia (12th–13th century A.D.) and are unusual additions to our collection of Islamic bronzes. A small inscribed bronze ring and a 12th–14th century unglazed jug from Mesopotamia complete the gift. Mr. Minarovich has also granted the Department a loan of other items, including a large, handsome basin inscribed with the name of an Egyptian officer who died in A.D. 1329. A somewhat smaller but similar basin, also on loan, was once owned by a court flute-player, according to its inscription. Together with a bronze tulip candlestick and a dragon-headed sword-hilt these pieces from the Minarovich collection will be displayed in the Near Eastern temporary exhibition gallery on the second floor of the Museum in the near future.

Two specimens of *Phacops rana*, a 370-million-year-old trilobite found in Middle Devonian rocks of Ontario, were recently donated to the Department of Invertebrate Palaeontology by Mr. Dickie Mills of Wiarton. *Phacops* has large multi-faceted eyes and had the ability to roll up like an armadillo. The specimens were collected in the 1920's at Arkona, Ontario.

A magnificent cuprosklodowskite from Zaïre has been purchased by the Department of Mineralogy and is an important acquisition since it is by far the most spectacular specimen of this species in the mineral collections. The Walker Mineralogical Club has asked its members for donations so that the club can defray the cost of this specimen and thus donate it to the ROM. Three species new to the collections have been added: *pentagonite* from Oregon, presented by Mr. Dick Thompson of Nevada; and *jahnsite* and *robertsite* from South Dakota, both presented by Mr. Julius Weber of New York.





The celadons of the Koryo period (A.D. 918–1392) of Korean history are greatly admired by lovers of Oriental ceramics. A Japanese connoisseur once declared, "Whenever I hold one in my hand, my weariness is relieved, my sternness relaxed, my irritability alleviated, my parched feelings quenched and my ugly heart purified." The inspiration for this remarkable substance came from China, but after an initial period of trial and imitation the Korean potters evolved a style of their own, distinct from Chinese celadons in shape, decoration, technique, and glaze. The Far Eastern Department has recently acquired a Koryo dish dating from the 12th–13th century which, apart from its shape which is unusual for Korea, is representative of Korean taste. The glaze has none of the soft uniform opacity of the best southern Chinese celadons of the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 960–1279); it is clear and thinly applied, with the result that it appears to vary in hue over the piece. Where the glaze is thin the body shows through yielding a soft grey-green, but where it pools in depressions the lovely blue-green of the glaze is intensified. The moulded decoration of three flying cranes bordered by seven clouds with trailing tails is well established in the Korean repertoire. The placement of the clouds without regard to the lines descending from the six notches in the rim is typical of the unstudied spontaneity for which Korean ceramics are so much admired.

The recently acquired, richly embroidered *szür*-mantle illustrated here was made at Vác, Hungary, by Ignác Sasvári in 1936. Its addition to the growing collection of East European costume is of particular importance, since a major research project in the Textile Department during the last few years has been to investigate the historical background of this type of garment. A monograph on the subject, entitled *The Hungarian Szür—An Archaic Mantle of Eurasian Origin* by Veronika Gervers-Molnár, was published by the Museum in the series *History, Technology and Art* in 1973.

The *szür*-mantle is a long, coat-like garment, made of heavy, fulled, woollen twill, usually white in colour. It always has a large back-collar which can be transformed into a hood by knotting together the roundels at its lower corners. Although the mantle has sleeves, they are seldom if ever used, for the garment is worn over the shoulders. In the case of this *szür*, the sleeves are actually pocketed with circular pieces of embroidered fabric.

The heavy *szür*-mantle, worn exclusively by men and particularly by those who spent most of their lives out-of-doors, was virtually waterproof and an excellent protection against the elements. But the costly, richly decorated *cifra-szürs*, a type characteristic of the 19th century, were used as festive garments and were prized possessions of herdsmen and peasants. Our coat is among the latest examples of embroidered *szürs*, made by a master who worked according to the traditions of the previous time.

D.B. Webster

As we trod carefully along some slippery granite ledges behind a long-abandoned apple orchard at Port Rawson, Georgian Bay, one fine day last August, I could not help reflecting on the unreasoning fear that so many people display at the mere sight of any snake. Snakes, of which there are 17 species in Ontario, elicit in most individuals an almost hysterical reaction which all too often results in the immediate dispatch of the snake, of whatever species it may be. Though they are among nature's more useful creatures, snakes are also among those most mercilessly treated by human beings.

That particular sunny afternoon my step-son and I were hunting Massasaugas (*Sistrurus catenatus*), not with a gun or even a camera (which we'd forgotten), but for the purpose of catching them alive and transporting them back to the Museum. Our first concern, as we moved slowly along a ledge in rubber knee-boots, was concentrated observation. Rattlesnakes will often emerge on bright days to warm themselves in the sun, but their grey and brown colouring provides them with a perfect camouflage. Seeing nothing, we tapped the rocks and probed with the metal ends of our sticks, then stopped and listened hard. The Massasauga, when disturbed in residence or impeded in its travels, will often vibrate its tail rattles, producing the characteristic dry buzzing which gives away its position.

The Massasauga is a reptile whose relative distribution within its range seems inexplicable. My own observation is that it can be common in specific areas one year and quite rare the next. It inhabits mainly the area surrounding Lake Huron as well as the Georgian Bay islands and shoreline, and it is certainly a willing and self-initiated swimmer. Though not nomadic, these rattlesnakes do seem at least to be short-range travellers, a characteristic which may explain the annual variations in their local distribution.

Rattlesnakes often hunt frogs, mice and other small rodents, and anything else for which they have an appetite (including smaller snakes), in damp and low-lying marshy or wooded areas. For this reason they are also commonly called Swamp Rattlers. Like the larger Eastern Timber Rattlesnake (apparently extinct in Ontario), however, the Massasauga prefers drier and more secure areas for its den. Thus the cliffs and crevices of granite ledges in the pre-Cambrian shield country of eastern Georgian Bay provide an ideal habitat.

Snakes Are Not for Killing

Hunting the Massasauga in Ontario

A Massasauga travelling over a rock ledge, with rattles vibrating.

Since rattlesnakes are poisonous (the only poisonous species in Ontario) they must be hunted with caution. Knee-high rubber or leather boots are essential; wearing low running shoes or short pants is only asking for trouble. Our snake-sticks, for pulling snakes from crevices, pinning them down, and securing them, are four-foot-long handles with three-inch steel corner-reinforcing angles attached to the ends. These are simply made, strong enough to dislodge rocks and logs, and sufficiently long for poking into cracks and crannies or hitting brush to elicit (hopefully) a buzzing in response.

Why was I, as curator of the Canadiana Department, engaging in this incongruous pastime? First, I have always been a "snakeophile", fascinated by these ancient forms of life which have survived and flourished despite geological and climatic changes, and which even in this supposedly enlightened day are associated with all kinds of folklore, myth, and assorted nonsense in the human mind. Having also a modest presence in east-central Georgian Bay inhabited by quite a number of snake species, including rattlesnakes, I had some time ago offered to supply whatever I could of the Ichthyology and Herpetology Department's very occasional needs for indigenous serpents.

Though never publicized and rarely mentioned in such documents as Annual Reports, the kind of inter-departmental cooperation represented by completely informal and often individual arrangements is certainly one of the things which allows an organization as complex and diverse as the ROM to work as a scholarly institution. There are probably many such *ad hoc* arrangements within the Museum, involving the sharing or loan of lab or scientific equipment, inter-departmental collecting of specimens and samples, or more overt joint endeavours in the realm of teaching or exhibitions.

When snake hunting, we usually work in pairs, or occasionally as a group of three, all members of the group staying within earshot of one another, since this method is both safer and more efficient for covering a given area. Whoever spots a rattlesnake simply pins it down, calling to the others, but not attempting actually to catch it on his own.

One of the snake-sticks is rigged as a snare-stick, for catching and caging. A length of three-strand, plastic-coated, soft copper bell wire, running through holes in the steel angle, is sufficiently flexible to be drawn tight, but stiff enough for a reasonably firm loop.

The second person loops the pinned-down snake behind the head with the snare-stick and lifts and deposits it in a wire-mesh field cage. The snake crawls out of the loop as soon as it is released. Rattlesnake catching involving two people is thus done from beyond the snake's striking range (about two-thirds of its own length), and avoids the risk involved when one person has both to pin down the snake and then grab it by hand behind the head. An irate Massasauga, particularly a young and sun-warmed one, is very fast.

Massasaugas are by nature retiring creatures, seen by people largely in chance encounters. They are so reclusive, in fact, that even deliberate hunting in known rattlesnake areas is unsuccessful more often than not. They are perfectly capable, however, of living in inhabited areas—under cottages, sheds, woodpiles, or overturned boats—and this propensity is generally their downfall on discovery.

Alex Rettie, of the Ministry of Natural Resources District Office in Parry Sound, reported in the *Georgian Bay Beacon* last summer that in 15 years he had never seen a rattlesnake in the wild. "We sometimes get a request for a specimen for the Sportsmen's Show or the C.N.E.," said Mr. Rettie, "and we have to look pretty hard to find one. I'd class them as scarce." (He met his first shortly after this.)

During the period in August when we were seeking rattlesnakes, I had word of what we were about well broadcast, with the offer to come immediately to remove whatever pestiferous serpents might be spotted. In spite of this, during this time to my own knowledge eleven rattlesnakes (and probably others of which I was not aware) were summarily executed within a four-mile radius of us. Such is the panic syndrome. What the annual rattlesnake kill is on the Georgian Bay eastern shore and islands I cannot estimate, but if the Massasauga is not now an endangered species (it is not protected), its time is coming.

On one occasion a neighbour, to whom I had spoken not an hour before about my desire for rattlesnakes, arrived by boat with a snake in a box, thoroughly clobbered with a shovel and quite dead. It was an Eastern Hognose Snake or puff adder, which bears only a superficial resemblance to the Massasauga, but is most uncommon and is, if anything, even more liable to instant dispatch than the rattlesnake, since though harmless it puts up a mean front and is a consummate actor.

Sistrurus catenatus is a basically benign and unaggressive creature that strikes only to catch food or when extremely provoked, and which prefers to withdraw from confrontations. Quite small, it usually grows only to about two feet in length; a yard-long specimen would be a near record. Its venom is principally a blood rather than a nerve poison. Though this venom is considerably more potent, in equal quantities, than that of the Timber Rattler, the Massasauga has short fangs and delivers only a small quantity. Its strike, in most cases, is sufficient to ensure the death of its small-sized prey, but is not generally fatal to larger mammals, including healthy adult human beings.

Dr. Alan Christie, a well-known

veterinarian in Parry Sound, treated some 30 dogs for rattlesnake bites in 1973, as well as two cows and a horse. The dogs were probably bitten for over-curiosity rather than by mere chance. People, who are far less likely to explore haphazardly, are also bitten far less often; there have been only three recorded human deaths from rattlesnake bite in Ontario over the past 17 years. Dr. Christie, in treating animals, uses steroids (anti-inflammatories) rather than anti-venin, and he knows of one dog which has been bitten so often that it appears virtually immune to rattlesnake venom.

Rattlesnakes, as I mentioned, seem to be encountered as often (or as rarely) by accident as in intentional hunting. In our own searches, for example, we have taken only four snakes, all that we have encountered. The snakes are known to have poor hearing, but an acute sense of smell and sensitivity to ground vibration. Thus they probably can detect the approach of people or of heavy animals, and simply avoid engagement.

The Museum's need for live rattlesnakes is, of course, only very occasional and for specialized purposes—in last summer's instance for passing on to the new Metropolitan Toronto Zoo. Rattlesnake hunting is good though somewhat unusual sport, but it is not a pastime in which to indulge lightly. Moreover, there is absolutely no point in catching Massasaugas in the absence of a clear advance arrangement as to what will be done with them.

The chances of being accidentally bitten by a Massasauga are probably less than those of being struck by lightning. The perils of the highway in getting to snake country in the first place far outweigh either. These small rattlesnakes are a species in decline, not through lack of food or through pesticide toxication (so far as we know), but simply because too many people are killing them. Confrontation is not necessary; nor, to my mind, should any snakes be killed, whatever the species, anywhere in Ontario. Massasaugas, when encountered, should simply be left alone.

A Massasauga, disturbed, coils into the striking position.

The writer's wife, probing a crevice in granite ledges above the Moon River falls, an ideal and well-known rattlesnake habitat. In the foreground is the wire-mesh cage for holding captured snakes.

Donald B. Webster is Curator of the Canadiana Department in the ROM *and has a special interest in earlier colonial Canada and its economic and cultural history. He has excavated two 17th-century seigneurial houses in Quebec and a number of pottery kiln sites, and is now searching for an early 16th-century proprietary settlement site. His recent books include* Early Canadian Pottery, Decorated Stoneware Pottery of North America, *and as general editor,* The Book of Canadian Antiques.

Recent Publications

Images of Eighteenth-Century Japan, Ukiyoe Prints from the Sir Edmund Walker Collection, Royal Ontario Museum, *David Waterhouse*, ROM, pp. 240, ill. b. & w. and colour. Cloth $14.95, paper $9.95

Since its arrival in the ROM in 1926, the Sir Edmund Walker Collection has been Canada's largest and most important collection of Japanese woodblock prints. While the collection has a broad representation of artists from the early 18th century to the end of the Edo period, it is in the 18th-century prints that Sir Edmund's skill as a collector is most evident. The work of the 18th-century artists continues to be of prime interest to collectors and museums. In their strength of composition, deftness of wit, and subtlety of suggestion, they stand as the pinnacle of Japanese print art.

Images of Eighteenth-Century Japan is the handsome catalogue prepared by David Waterhouse to accompany the first major exhibition of the Walker Collection of Japanese woodblock prints, which opened at the ROM in April 1975. All the prints on display are illustrated in the book, eight of them in colour. Professor Waterhouse accompanies each print with detailed remarks on size, technique, and quality, and provides interesting biographical information on the various important artists represented. Through his commentary on the subjects of the prints and his translations of Japanese literary texts the colourful world of feudal Japan—its theatres, city life, ceremonies, courtesans, warriors, legends, religion—comes vividly alive.

Florentine Baroque Bronzes and Other Objects of Art, *Charles Avery and Corey Keeble*, ROM, pp. 118, ill. b. & w. and colour, $10.00

Superb full-page photographs by Eberhard Otto (one for each object listed) and detailed notes and commentary by the two authors carry this book beyond the category of "exhibition catalogue" to that of "art book". While the focus is on the last great phase of Florentine Baroque, and in particular on the bronze sculpture of two of its greatest artists, Giovanni Battista Foggini and Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi, terra cottas, drawings, and paintings are also included. Pre-Baroque bronzes by Giovanni Bologna and bronzes of the Romantic period by Dalou, Carpeaux, and Barye provide an intriguing framework, extending the range from the Renaissance to the Baroque revival in 19th-century France. The objects catalogued, many of which have been given to the ROM, constitute a rare collection of worldwide interest and significance. The exhibition for which

Venus Marina with Putti and Dolphins, a 17th-century bronze doorknocker. From Florentine Baroque Bronzes and Other Objects of Art.

the catalogue was prepared was a unique event in Canadian museum history and a notable contribution to the contemporary upsurge of interest in Florentine Baroque, which found notable expression in 1974 in the Detroit/Florence exhibition "Twilight of the Medici". Several of the pieces in the ROM exhibition had been previously displayed in Detroit and Florence.

Pre-Sung Dynasty Chinese Stonewares, *Yutaka Mino*, ROM, pp. 104 + vi, ill. b. & w. and colour, $6.95
Sung stonewares and Ming porcelains are famous throughout the world, but their precursors, the foundations of their excellence, are less widely known and appreciated. Glazed stoneware first appeared in China in the second millennium B.C. and continued to evolve slowly and sporadically throughout the centuries of the Bronze Age. In the third century A.D. the process of development rapidly gathered momentum and produced true celadon in the south and, later, fine white wares in the north. The collections of the Far Eastern Department of the Royal Ontario Museum provide a wealth of material for study of this vital formative period. In *Pre-Sung Dynasty Chinese Stonewares*, about seventy pieces from the collection are described and illustrated. The author has used recent archaeological material to date them and to group them by kiln. The majority of the vessels chosen for publication are T'ang Dynasty white wares which, in their variety, and number, reflect the area of greatest strength in the Department's collection and give the reader an excellent opportunity to study the slight variations occurring from piece to piece within one type. Representatives from the celadon tradition, as well as some from specialized kilns producing characteristic glazes of their own, are also included. The catalogue is introduced by a history of the development of Chinese stoneware from its inception in the Shang Dynasty to its culmination in the Sung.

The Strange and Dangerous Voyage of Capt. Thomas James, ed. *W.A. Kenyon*, ROM, pp. 146 + xiv, ill. b. & w., $5.95 (cloth), $3.95 (paper)
In 1631 Capt. James set out in the name of the Bristol Merchants and King Charles I of England to discover a northwest passage to the Orient. En route through the northern seas and wintering on Charlton Island in James Bay, he underwent some gruelling tests. What's more, he lived to tell the harrowing tale and to record his observations and his explorations in the region. Working from James' 17th-century account, W.A. Kenyon has produced a lively modern version of the tale, illuminated with maps, photographs, and explanatory notes. An important historical/nautical document and an exciting story.

CANONTORIANA, *Alexander MacDonald*, ROM, pp. 32, illustrated, $1.00
This catalogue accompanied the 1975 exhibition of maps from the Alexander E. MacDonald Foundation's collection, tracing the development of early Canadian place names from 1508. The title refers to the evolution of the names, Canada, Ontario, Toronto.

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The Church in the Jungle

The ROM's first season at Lamanai

David M. Pendergast

No matter where in the world archaeological work is undertaken, whether in the desert or in the tropics, at sea level or on a mountain top, the first season of every new project is bound to be fraught with difficulties. Even though we have been at work in Belize (formerly British Honduras) almost continuously since 1964, the start of a new expedition last year was no less traumatic than earlier efforts. As always, we had to suppress the urge to begin exploration and excavation of the site during the long weeks in which a permanent camp was built and the other necessary arrangements were made for the beginning of a research programme expected to last until at least 1981. With the

Above: Building the camp. With the roof framing in place, thatching gets under way.

Left: The church at Lamanai after the bush had been cleared away and debris removed.

long-range view of the project in mind, we found camp-building a bit less tedious than it might otherwise have been, but no one could look back on the first three months on site as the highlight of the season.

In 1973, with the Altun Ha excavations completed and reporting of the work well under way, I decided that it was time to return to the field to begin work at a site which I had long since chosen as my next target: Lamanai. Translation of my decision into action depended in part on ROM financial support, but was made possible in large measure by the generosity of the Canada Council and the Richard Ivey Foundation of London, Ontario. The Ivey Foundation's support solved one of the knottier logistics problems, allowing us to set off for Belize and the new site in January of 1974.

Although Lamanai lies just 40 kilometres west of Altun Ha, it is in a totally different environmental zone on the edge of the great rainforest of the Guatemalan Peten, and is inaccessible except by river. While it was the site's inaccessibility that gave rise to some of our initial problems, it was partly because of Lamanai's location that I chose it for investigation.

In the Maya area, it is common to begin work at a site with no idea of the extent of occupation, either in space or in time. We had hoped that aerial survey, including false colour-infrared photography carried out for us by the Flight Research Laboratory of the National Aeronautical Establishment in 1971, might give us some idea of the size of Lamanai and the distribution of structures; in fact, however, the photographs revealed nothing but the tops of the tallest buildings, rising above the 100-foot-high jungle canopy. Our first on-site inspection, also in 1971, told us a bit more about some of the structures but was too short to give us any idea of how many buildings there were, or how they were distributed. In many ways, therefore, we were stepping onto unknown territory when we first disembarked from our two-boat archaeological fleet early in February, after churning some 38 kilometres up the New River to the great lagoon which forms its headwaters.

Though many things about Lamanai were unknown, the site had particular importance on two counts. First, it lies in a region about which almost nothing is known archaeologically; second, it is the only site yet discovered in the Central Maya Area at which there is an early Spanish church. These facts, combined with the

rather impressive size of some of the major structures, indicated that Lamanai might have remained an important centre up to the time of Spanish contact. Luckily, bits of archival data gave us a clue to the time of construction of the church—probably in the 1570s—and the date of abandonment by apostatized Maya was definitely recorded as 1641. Our plans for the first season included investigations at the church, with the hope that we might begin work in the pre-Hispanic buildings as well.

Early documents gave us one additional piece of information: the ancient name of the site. There were many churches along the New River, but the description of the one situated near the lower end of the great lagoon leaves no doubt that this was the site on which we were to begin work. The name is variously recorded as *Lamanay* and *Lamayna*; given the Spaniards' lack of linguistic expertise, it is most probable that the name was Lamanai. This is one of a very few cases in which we know the original name of a Maya site and are not forced to concoct one. We also know the probable meaning of the name: in Mayan, *laman* means drowned, and *ai* is insect. "Drowned insect" is hardly a splendid name, but it must have had great significance for the ancient Maya, perhaps commemorating the first object seen when the settlement was founded.

From what little we knew, it was obvious that Lamanai was a site of high potential, and our eagerness to begin excavation was proportionately great. Before we could turn a spadeful of earth for archaeological reasons, though, we had to put shovels, machetes, chainsaws, and other equipment to work to build the camp. With twenty Maya men to clear the camp site and assemble materials for the construction of thatched buildings, we soon began to make a dent in the forest, though at considerable cost. As it turned out, the spot chosen for the camp was reasonably level, and free of ancient construction, but the trees which clothed it were enmeshed in the heaviest tangle of vines I have ever seen.

Days of hacking, tugging, and dragging finally resulted in the clearing of a good-sized patch of land, and we began to create a camp designed to last a decade or more. Everyone worked with a will, and by late April most of the construction was finished or well on its way to completion. As soon as a small crew could be spared from the building work, we set out on our first investigation of ancient Lamanai.

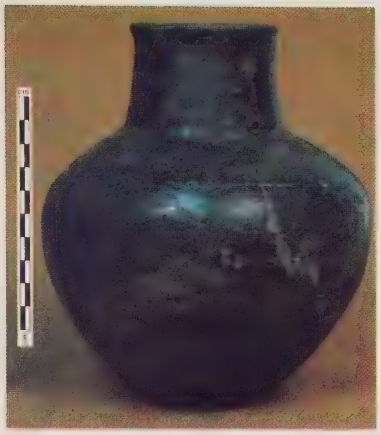
The first burial encountered in the small structure. Beneath the bowl inverted as a cover, inside a giant censer, rests an adult male in a seated position. Invisible beneath the censer are the smashed remains of perhaps fifteen more vessels.

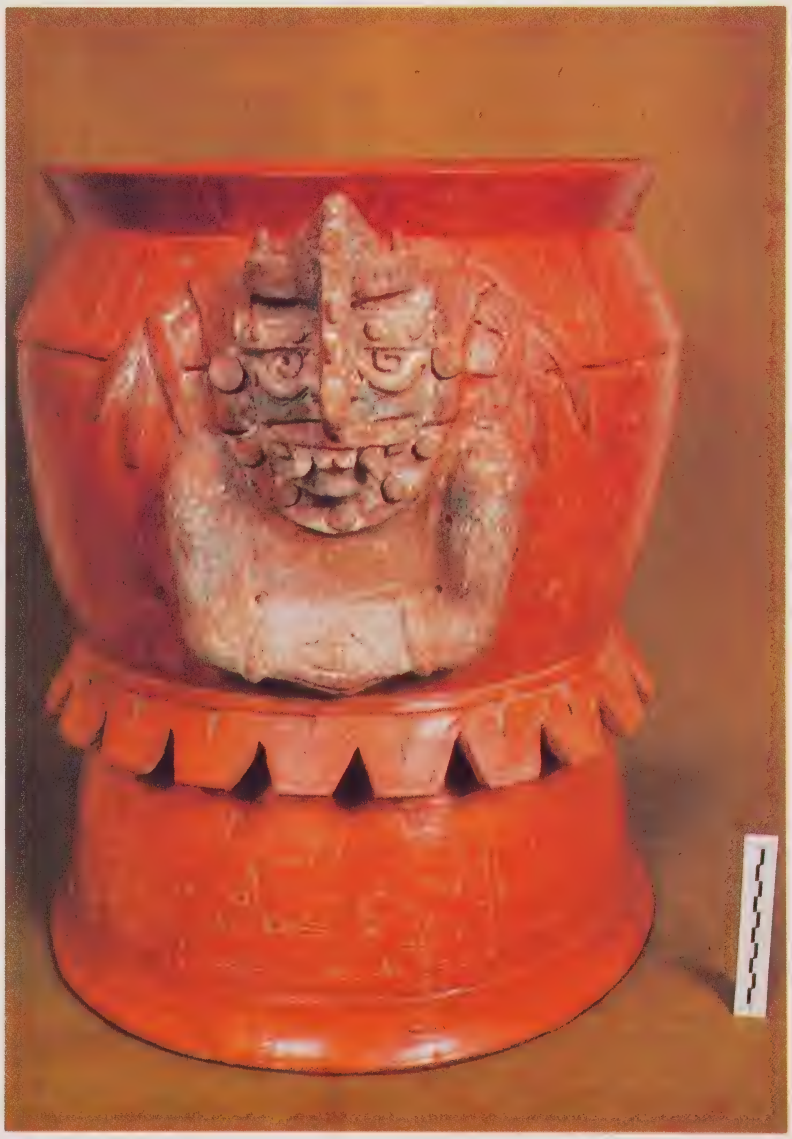
The second structure investigated in 1974. About 17 feet high, it has little except its shape to identify it as an ancient building.

The camp construction was not all drudgery without any archaeological return, however. As the building progressed we began to clean the area thoroughly and found amazing quantities of archaeological material lying right on the surface, just beneath the leaves. Even now, each rain brings new objects to light, so that surface collection is a never-ending process. With more than 2,000 pieces of obsidian, dozens of projectile points and spindle weights, and numerous figurine fragments and other objects accompanying a great pile of pottery sherds, our surface collection soon resembled the results of a small-scale excavation. Beyond this, it demonstrated that the area had been occupied in the late Post-Classic (13th–15th centuries A.D.), precisely the period in which we were most interested.

With the surface indications of late occupation in the camp area, I chose to start excavation not at the church, which lay about a kilometre south of camp, but rather in a very small mound within the camp compound. The mound was attractive because of its small size, which would make extraction of an adequate sample possible even though the working season was short, and because of its rather unusual location in the centre of a small plaza. With a few days of excavation, it became apparent that I had made a good choice, for the mound dated from the period represented by the surface material, but contained richly-accompanied burials.

What began as an excavation likely to yield a few sherds at best soon turned into an operation of major importance, as a burial in a huge censer, bedded on a mass of broken vessels, came to light. The headaches (and backaches) of excavating a burial of this type, in which the body was placed, tightly flexed, within a giant vessel, are more than I care to recall. But by the time the work was done, the excavators at least had the satisfaction of having recovered the largest sample of late Post-Classic





Upper left: A blackware jar of a shape typical of the 13th and 14th centuries A.D. *Part of a group of vessels and other artifacts accompanying a major burial in the first structure investigated in 1974.*

Upper right: This redware bowl contained 13 pieces of chipped flint, the only offering from the final construction on the large structure shown on page 36. Its shape and context suggest a 14th or early 15th century date.

Lower right: This giant redware censer, its raingod effigy decoration coated with brightly painted stucco, was one of the three vessels in the burial shown on page 38. Dating from the 13th or 14th century A.D., *it is of a form common at Lamanai, and possibly unique to the site.*

Lower left: An effigy from another censer found smashed and scattered in the burial pit shown on page 38.

The richest burial thus far discovered at Lamanai, this 13th-14th century interment included three giant censers (one buried intact in the foreground, the other two smashed at the opposite side of the pit). The body lay in a secondary pit at the centre of the grave beneath the vessels.

Opposite page: Earlier construction concealed within the structure illustrated on page 36. These small units, all that remains of fairly elaborate buildings, date from the late 14th century A.D.

pottery yet encountered in the Central Maya Area. While the giant censer appeared unique, some of the associated vessels showed close ties with material from Mayapan, near the northern tip of the Yucatán Peninsula, and provided the basis for dating the burial.

Further excavation in the small structure revealed another, earlier burial, this time not housed in a huge vessel but nevertheless accompanied by some extremely interesting pottery, as well as other artifacts. By now it was clear that occupation at Lamanai in the 13th–15th centuries had involved not just stragglers living amidst the ruins of an ancient city, but rather a flourishing civilization which was very probably still in existence when the Spanish landed on the Lamanai shore. Obviously we had to learn more about life in this period, and just as obviously we stood a good chance of doing so by turning to the buildings adjacent to the small mound in which we had started work. At the same time, we quite clearly had much to gain by beginning work at the Franciscan church. So while one party continued in the camp area, a second detachment was dispatched southward to the church to begin cleaning and tree-felling. Though the church was more easily recognizable as a building than were its ancient neighbours, it was tightly gripped by the forest, and removal of the trees sprouting from wall tops proved no simple matter. Eventually, however, we had the area cleared and ready for excavation.

We began by clearing debris from the three rooms which formed the apse end of the church; the remainder of the building had been of poles and thatch and was burnt by the Maya in 1641, but would long ago have succumbed to the forest in any case. Our first probings of the debris brought a surprise, and a most unwelcome one at that.

In addition to what little we knew about the ancient site, we had considerable data on a mid-19th century sugar-milling operation at Lamanai, which was given the name Indian Church by the British. The mill, abandoned in the 1870s, still stands, as do house foundations and a well. The fields have long since disappeared, but they seem to have been concentrated in the area south of the main ancient centre, and west of the church. What we did not know until we began digging was that the sugar growers had used the church as a smithy or scrap dump; out of the mass of soil and stones within the rooms came chain, spikes, sheet metal, and huge quantities of the castoffs of non-conservation-minded metal-users. Perhaps the church had had some Spanish spikes in its timbers, or some other bit of metal here and there, but I doubt that we

can now sort such pieces out of the six sugar sacks of ironmongery which adorn our lab. I had some words for the sugar people, probably ill-suited to the church atmosphere in which we were working, and certainly not repeatable here.

Although the results of work within the church were a disappointment in some ways, they were also of great interest for what they revealed about the post-abandonment history of the building. According to the Spanish records, the Maya who destroyed the church fled westward to Tipu, a famous contact-period centre not yet identified archaeologically. This may have been so, but at least some of those who fled later returned to live in the church, depositing domestic debris within the rooms and outside the walls. In addition, our first trenching below the floor level in the centre room revealed a burial and several offerings, all of which must postdate the burning of the church, and probably represent use of the building in the second half of the 17th century. Though it is hardly impressive, this late material is as significant in its way as that from earlier centuries recovered from buildings near camp.

To return to the camp area: with work on the small structure completed, we turned our attention to its neighbour on the west, a mound without any exposed architecture and with a surface seemingly composed entirely of boulders. Most of the rest of the season was spent on this structure, and by the end of July we had penetrated just beyond the midpoint of its height, with most of the work concentrated in a central trench. The cut revealed a sequence of late Post-Classic construction involving what appear to be at least six major modifications. Most of the modifications are of forms not previously recorded in the Maya area, but unfortunately we know little more than this, as each unit was extensively razed before it was capped with additional construction. Despite the gaps in the data, however, the sequence represents the greatest volume of architectural information yet recovered from Post-Classic contexts in the Central Maya Area.

In addition to the architecture, we encountered one large offering of burnt material, including quantities of corn and beans, something of a rarity in the humid tropics, where perishable materials are usually preserved only if charred. The offering was part of dedicatory activity, which is to say that it was made on top of the razed remains of one structure before construction was begun on the overlying building. Through most of the construction sequence, the dedicatory activity luckily also included burials, of which we now have ten. Most of the individuals were interred with pottery vessels, and it is these plus sherds from building core that tell us the age of the construction. Like the ceramics from the small struc-

ture, those from the large building include vessels related to the pottery of Mayapan, as well as unique forms. The existence of previously unrecorded kinds of pottery in both structures suggests that Lamanai had a well-established ceramic tradition of its own, rather than simply borrowing ideas developed elsewhere.

Besides pottery vessels, burials in the second structure were accompanied by other artifacts which demonstrate the importance of Lamanai in the late Post-Classic. Among these is a well-preserved copper bell of a type found in the Bay Islands of Honduras, and also in Oaxaca in southern Mexico, on the central Gulf Coast, and in the American Southwest. The Oaxaca Valley is the most likely manufacture site, so that the bell, like the obsidian found on the surface, is evidence of trade linking Lamanai with areas both within and outside the Maya region. Together with other materials, the bell suggests that Lamanai was not just some sort of outpost near the eastern fringe of the Maya area in Post-Classic times, but rather a centre of some importance in the commercial and political network which developed around Mayapan.

In a short first season, we have begun to bring to light a slice of Maya prehistory previously hidden beneath the forest and the decay of centuries. In the process we have raised questions which may take years to answer, if in fact they are answerable at all. One of the foremost of these is posed by the puzzling fact that the people of Lamanai continued to develop and expand their way of life during the Post-Classic, while 40 kilometres away at Altun Ha the civilization of Classic times disintegrated in the 10th century and the site gradually succumbed to the encroaching jungle. Lamanai is, in fact, the first site in the Central Maya Area to yield evidence of rich and elaborate development in the Post-Classic.

That Lamanai lived while Altun Ha died may have been due in part to the fact that one is located on a major river, while the other lies in a spot cut off from the sea by several kilometres of mangrove swamp. The lagoon-side setting of Lamanai may have facilitated continued contact with northern Yucatán, and hence with the influences which motivated Post-Classic peoples. At the same time, Lamanai may have had some special significance which made such contacts desirable for the seafaring traders of Post-Classic times. The distribution and characteristics of the buildings at Lamanai suggest that the site may have been an unusual type of ceremonial centre; with additional excavation, and luck, we may determine whether this was so.

We shall go on for at least the next seven years at Lamanai, trying to provide answers to the questions having to do with the late occupation. We shall also, of course, extend our investigations into earlier time periods at the site, where we may find as much exciting information and as many intriguing questions as we have already encountered for the centuries just before Spanish contact. With the struggles of camp construction behind us, and with a surprisingly large and rich body of data already in hand, we can look forward to years of research in which the difficulties promise to be less, and the rewards even greater, than those we have already experienced.

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